

# THE EXAMINER.

"PROVE ALL THINGS; HOLD FAST THAT WHICH IS GOOD."

VOLUME I.

THE EXAMINER:

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THE EXAMINER,

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months.

Address

Kentucky Colonization Society,  
First Presbyterian Church, Frank-  
fort, by Hon. W. F. BULLOCK.

The condition of the African race, as a part of our population, and the consequent duty which devolves upon us as citizens, is which your attention is invited.

It will be admitted that the questions necessarily involved are eminently practical, the destiny of a large class of our population, and its effects which population, and must continue to exert upon the character of our institutions, present a question which forces itself upon our serious and anxious consideration.

What is our duty in reference to the free colored population of the United States? That is the question. I speak of our duty enlarged and comprehensive sense, which includes all our obligations—our duty to ourselves, to our fellow men, and to God. It is, therefore, necessary that we should rightly understand our own interests, and at the same time have a just and enlightened appreciation of the rights of others.

The political condition of this class, as presented to the eye of the statesman and philanthropist, is a subject of serious difficulty, if not of apprehension and alarm; such is the nature and force of public sentiment, that though relieved from personal bondage, the man of color is excluded from all the essential rights and immunities of the citizen. A free and equal participation in the rights of citizenship is not only denied to him, but every attempt to assert the justice of the claim is fiercely denounced, and not unfrequently accompanied with acts of oppression and outrage.

Even in those communities where there is supposed to exist the greatest sympathy for this class, he is excluded from that full participation in the privileges of the government, which confer character and dignity upon the citizen.

It might be supposed, from the loud clamor of the Abolitionists, that the people of the north were fast approaching to that period when the blacks were to occupy the broad platform of equal rights. It is not doubted that such is the wild dream of the enthusiast. But such is not the result of a calm and sober observation of passing events.

On the contrary, there is a fixed and unalterable determination to widen and deepen the political distinctions between the two races.

Such is the inevitable tendency of the laws of nature, and of the current of human events. Notwithstanding the ardent zeal and indefatigable efforts which have been made, to extend to the blacks an equal participation in the privileges of the Government, no perceptible progress has been made, even in the free States, towards the accomplishment of this purpose.

The only effect which has been produced by the mistaken zeal and ill-directed efforts of the Abolitionists, has been the deep agitation of the public mind, resulting in an increased and accumulating weight of prejudice against the unfortunate objects of their sympathy and regard.

For more than half a century, in many of the States of this Union, the man of color has been freed from the shackles of personal bondage, and left to struggle with his destiny. What progress has he made in the elevation of his caste? Where have his equal rights been practically recognized?

The pages of our history are barren of the evidences of his social and political advancement. Whilst our Government has afforded an asylum to the nations of the earth, and its glorious immunities and privileges are freely bestowed upon all, the African, brought here against his will, is made to occupy in his best estate, a condition of unqualified inferiority. We are forcibly reminded of the prophetic curse,

"God shall enlarge Japheth, and he shall dwell in the tents of Shem; and Canaan shall be his servant."

We have no evidence of any change of public sentiment upon this subject. Very recently the question has been directly presented to the people of New York, and decided by an overwhelming expression of public opinion. The extension of the right of suffrage is utterly denied to the colored population by the organic law of the State. So deeply seated and universal is this sentiment in the non-slaveholding States, that the efforts of the Abolitionists are no longer directed to the amelioration of the condition of the free people of color, within their own limits, but to the abolition of slavery within the slave States.

What is the condition of this class in those communities where their rights are most cherished and respected? This question can be best answered, by inquiring what have they gained by liberation. They are thrown upon their own resources, and endowed with the power to acquire and hold property. No longer subjected to the control of a master, they enjoy the right of pursuing the dictate of their own reason, subject only to a just accountability to the laws of the State. It may be supposed that this is a most important acquisition.

They are to this extent free. But the essence of freedom is wanting. They have no voice in originating the laws by which they are governed, and no participation in the administration of these laws, no matter how dearly their interests may be effected.

The protection of life, liberty, and property, is lodged in other hands. They are thus deprived of the strong and powerful motives which enoble and dignify the character of the citizen. The constitution and the laws recognize them as a degraded and inferior caste.

It is undoubtedly true, that there have been and are noble specimens of humanity among this ill-fated people.

But strength of character has enabled them to surmount the barriers which the constitution and the laws, aided by inexorable public sentiment, have thrown in their way.

Look at the condition of the mass of this population. What are the relations which they sustain to society and the Government?

It is unquestionably true, that this is the most unproductive class of our people, and is evidently distinguished as idle, dissolute and unthrifty. Such has been, and is now,

the magnitude of this evil, where this population prevails to any extent, that it is frequently exposed to the outbreak of licenser popular fury. It is the inciting cause to the grossest violations of justice. It has not unfrequently happened that they have been driven by lawless violence from the bosom of that society, whose duty it was to cherish and protect them.

On a late occasion, the attempt to colonize the freed slaves of the late John Randolph, within the limits of a sister State, was vehemently opposed with strong expressions of popular disapprobation.

The reason is an obvious one. A Government like ours can derive no strength or support from such a population. The strength of our Government is in the virtue, intelligence, and patriotism of its citizens.

And what effect this growing mass, un instructed in virtue, unenlightened by knowledge, and unredeemed by the sentiments of patriotism, may exert upon the future destiny of our country, time alone can decide.

It is confidently asserted, that as a class, occupying the position assigned them by our laws, and the public sentiment of the land, their moral, mental and physical condition must and will deteriorate.

The eye of reason discerns the cause in the nature of man. He is oppressed. The motives to exertion, and the rewards of virtuous ambition are denied him. His pride of character is sapped at the root, and has nothing to sustain it. Tell me not that the cause is to be found in the inferiority of his nature.

That nature is the gift of God, endowed with the capacity, and clothed with all the attributes of man. Under the influence of his own clime, it will expand as it has expanded into the proportions of intellectual and moral grandeur.

(To be Continued.)

NAPOLON'S MOTHER.—"My excellent mother," said he, "is a woman of great courage and of great talents, more of a masculine than a feminine nature, proud and high minded. She is capable of selling everything, even to her chemist, for me. I allowed her a million (francs) a year, besides a palace, and giving her many presents. To the summer in which she formed me at an early age, I principally owe my subsequent elevation. My opinion is, that the future good or bad conduct of a child depends entirely upon the mother. She is very rich. Most of my family considered that I might die, that accidents might happen, and consequently took care to secure something. They have preserved a great part of their property." Of Joseph he thus speaks. "His virtues and talents are those of a private character, and for such nature intended him; he is too good to be a great man. He has no ambition. He is very like me in person, but handsome. He is extremely well informed, but his learning is not that fitted for a king, nor is he capable of commanding an army."

A SMUGGLER WORTH TWENTY MILLIONS OF DOLLARS.—There lives in Silesia a peasant, named Gudalla. He was formerly a smuggler. One day the custom-house officers were in pursuit of him, and having fired, the ball passed through his right arm, which was obliged to be amputated. Gudalla, forced to resort to another calling, established himself in a village called Rita. He had only been there a few days before his fortune turned, and he had the luck of discovering a valuable zinc mine, called Mary's Mine, and it has now become one of the most profitable of any in Europe.

Gudalla having obtained permission to work his discovery, is now in possession of a fortune estimated at 30,000,000 of thalers, or about four millions sterling! He is unmarried, and being a foundling, has no relations or offspring, so that the whole of this immense property, according to the Prussian laws, will go to the King of Prussia.

During his recent tour, the King visited Gudalla, who felt highly honored by the visit.

The Bey of Tunis has forwarded a splendid pair of slippers set with diamonds, to M. Guizot, and diamond bracelets to that minister's daughters. These presents, which were valued at 100,000 francs (4,000), were, however, politely declined.

\* This supposes that the limits of the State of Texas, when detached from the vacant territory which pertains to it, will be fifty thousand square miles, which is about the average size of the large States.

\* This computation supposes that Iowa and Wisconsin will contain fifty thousand square miles each.

\* This computation supposes that the aggregate wealth produced is

the value of the slaves, plus the cost of their yearly maintenance. But if slavery were out of the way, and free labor

were, politically declined.

LOUISVILLE, KY. SATURDAY, JUNE 19, 1847.

No. 1.

CHAPTER I.

Inquiry into the Causes which have retarded the Accumulation of Wealth and Increase of Population in the Southern States. By a Carolinian.

In examining the causes which have retarded the accumulation of wealth and population in the Southern or slaveholding States, it will be proper to advert to the particular circumstances in which the inferiority of the South, as contrasted with the North, consists. The reader will perceive, by turning to the map, that the slaveholding States, fourteen in number, commencing with Maryland, constitute much the larger portion of the Union, and, according to the computation of geographers, contains an area of six hundred and eighty thousand square miles,\* whereas the fourteen free States, together with Iowa and Wisconsin, contain only four hundred and fifty thousand square miles. The Southern climate generally is esteemed the more wholesome, her soil equal to that of the Northern States, and her productions surpassing in importance those of any country in the world. For, while her capacity for the production of grain, and all other articles which make up the staple of human subsistence and human comfort, is unsurpassed, she enjoys an almost exclusive monopoly in the supply of two articles, cotton and tobacco, which form of themselves, if not the chief object, certainly the greatest item of the commerce of nations. To these must be added the important articles sugar, rice and indigo, the production of which is entirely confined to the United States.

If the comparison be extended to the Western States, it will be attended with similar results,—as for instance, Kentucky and Ohio. The former in 1790 containing a population of seventy-three thousand, the latter only three thousand; but in 1840 the population of Ohio amounted to one million five hundred and twenty thousand, (1,520,000) while that of Kentucky was only seventeen hundred and eighty thousand (780,000).

The general improvement of the face of the country, the construction of roads and canals, agricultural improvements, public and private buildings, the growth of towns and cities, in the States of New York, Pennsylvania, and Ohio, seem to be more than commensurate with their increase of population, if compared with the condition of things in Virginia and Kentucky.

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These results, so unpronouncing of the future prosperity of the South, have excited much speculation in regard to their causes; but public opinion seems to have settled upon the conviction that slavery is the source of all the evils, or the chief evil,

which mars the prosperous career of the Southern States.

CHAPTER II.

Reflection upon the facts set forth above, has led the author of these pages into the common opinion that slavery has been the obstacle which has retarded the improvement and population of the Southern States.

But at this point another question arises. How does slavery present that obstacle? The combination, and I believe the universal opinion is, that slavery affects the prosperity of the country by its tendency to degrade labor in the estimation of the poss., and to engender pride in the rich & as a consequence, to produce idleness and inattention to business in all. And besides, it is said to have the effect of keeping away foreign immigrants; whose sentiments are adverse to the institution. These combined causes, it is thought, have produced the great disparities between the North and South above adverted to.

It will not be attempted to deny the existence of the operation of the causes as

assigned; but my present purpose will be to show, that the chief evils of slavery to the body politic result from principles more stubborn and powerful than its moral effects upon the people.

If we revert to the history of the country, we find that the Southern part of it was settled by Europeans even before the North; and that at the period of 1790, when the first census was taken under the Constitution, the population of the South was but little behind that of the North,—the former being one million nine hundred and three thousand, the latter two millions and forty thousand, the difference amounting to only one hundred and thirty-seven thousand. It must be regarded as a circumstance which renders the present great disparity of numbers, amounting to nearly three millions, according to the census of 1840, the more remarkable, that the breadth of the frontier, which lay contiguous to the Southern States, at the period of 1790, was several times greater than that of the North; and consequently admitted a rapid settlement than the remoter parts to which the North-western emigrant must resort.

The early settlement of the Northwest was likewise retarded by the presence of warlike Indians, which is another circumstance favorable to the increase of population in the South and South-west, as it would naturally turn the tide of Northern and European emigration in that direction. And the result has been, accordingly, that two States had risen up along the Southern frontier, (Kentucky and Tennessee,) before the settlement of any North-western State.

These advantages of position, climate, and products, it would be quite natural to suppose, would have given to the South,

at the expiration of fifty years, a population much greater than that of the Northern part of the Union,—not only greater in the aggregate, but greater in proportion to extent of territory,—greater to the square mile.

The reverse of all this, however, is true.

It is apparent from this, as well as from the preceding illustrations, that without reference to the ratio, the capital invested, where slave labor is employed, in the cultivation of one hundred acres of land with slave labor, is employed, eighteen thousand dollars (\$15,000); and where free labor is employed, eleven thousand (\$11,000); in this case the ratio is something more than three to two, (3 to 2).

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J. C. VAUGHN, EDITOR.  
F. GOSBY, ASSISTANT EDITOR.

SVILLE, JUNE 19, 1847.

**Notice.**  
of our paper to such persons  
as to believe will become sub-  
stantially requested that those to  
whom it will at once signify their wish  
to continue or discontinue. If  
they desire it continued, let them forward the  
subscription; if they wish it discontinued, the  
paper should be sent back, with the name and  
the post office to which it was addressed marked  
upon it. The post office regulations provide for  
the sending back of all such papers free of postage.

## Introductory.

The Legislature of Kentucky, last winter, by  
act, called upon the people of the State to say  
whether they would have a CONVENTION to es-  
tablish a new Constitution.

The holding of a convention, always impor-  
tant, is especially so now, for it involves the  
consideration and settlement of questions of vast  
magnitude—questions which ought to receive,  
and which will receive, doubtless, the best  
thought and closest examination of which our  
whole community are capable.

There can be, legally, no limit to the discussion  
of these questions, thus authoritatively and  
solemnly broached by the highest authority,  
and they will be—so we are persuaded, no effort,  
in any quarter, to hedge in the liberty of the  
press, or trammel speech, while these privileges  
are exercised with a just regard to the peace of  
the community, and the integrity of the law.—  
Even that most difficult problem of all—emanci-  
pation—may be fully and fearlessly presented,  
if its advocates be thus guarded—for no right  
is more sacred, in Kentucky, than that inalienable  
and fundamental right, which secures to  
every citizen “the liberty to know, to utter, to  
argue according to conscience.”

Nor could any doubt exist, on this point, were  
it not for those causes, external and internal  
which, for the last few years, have arrested the  
discussion of slavery by the press over the  
State. These are:

1. The violence with which the subject of  
slavery has been agitated out of the slave States.

There has been no form of exaggerated speech  
—no language in which wrath could be clothed  
—which has not been used against those who live  
and labor under slavery. The characteristics of too many  
even of the professed advocates of freedom, living  
away from the evil which they dread, have been,  
reverence, and excess. They have made no allowance  
for the education and feelings of a slaveholding  
community. The great question of emancipation, therefore, which  
should always be presented without passion, and  
urged in a spirit of love, and generous good will,  
has been involved in a storm of fierce conflict,  
and people have been so bewildered by execu-  
tion, or fired by passion, as not to see or know  
the truth, or, at least, how to utter it. Society,  
unquestionably, when stagnant, needs a whirl-  
wind blast to purify it, and to save. But where  
there is virtue and intelligence enough to  
hear and consider truth; the rude anger of the  
storm without, will only enkindle a ruder anger  
within. Violence, invariably, begets violence,  
and all that the best of us can do, at such times,  
is, to watch the excitement as it wears away—  
then, to labor and wait.

2. The ultraism with which slavery has been  
upheld in the slave States.

The perpetuators—especially those led by  
the able men of the Carolina school—have been  
ever in extreme. They have demanded of all  
persons and parties unqualified obedience to  
their dogmas. HENRY CLAY, because he refused  
assent to these, was denounced by them as an  
abolitionist; for the same reason SILAS WRIGHT  
is as much execrated now as JAMES G. BIRNEY.  
Their object has been and is to deepen the pro-  
slavery excitement, so that they may baffle all  
those States in one political union; and thus  
win power and secure it; and, for this end, they  
appeal constantly and ably to the pride, passion,  
sectional prejudice, avarice, and fears of these  
slave States. Nullification, the denial of such  
a right, is associated with us, we need hardly say a  
word. He treads his own soil; Louisville is his  
native home. He brings to the task he has undertaken  
a clear head, and a resolution to labor  
earnestly for the real, lasting well-being of his  
native state and city.

We have been solicited by numerous individuals  
in Virginia and North Carolina, and by a large circle of friends in Kentucky, to occupy  
our present post. We were known to all of them  
to have been born and brought up in South  
Carolina, and bred a slaveholder; and, therefore,  
supposed to be acquainted with the prejudices,  
interests and rights of slaveholders, and thus  
fitted to discuss the question of slavery; to be  
a Whig, yet no partisan, and hence not likely  
to introduce or meddle with party politics, or  
with parties of any character in or out of the  
State. We shall labor to meet their wishes and  
fulfill their expectations.—Mr. F. COSSY was  
associated with us, we need hardly say a  
word. He treads his own soil; Louisville is his  
native home. He brings to the task he has undertaken  
a clear head, and a resolution to labor  
earnestly for the real, lasting well-being of his  
native state and city.

We send the Examiner, with this brief outline  
of its proposed course and of our views, to its  
friends and the public. We beg no one for help.  
But, as the pecuniary independence of such a  
journal is important, we ask those who support  
the cause, and those who are willing to consider  
it, to take the paper, and to extend its circulation.  
We ask for their earnest sympathy, and  
for the support of their cordial union.

Our friends must unite, if they would have  
their strength felt. If a single person labors by  
himself, the power which consists in union is wanting.  
A drop of rain will produce no moisture  
on the dry soil; but when it is united with  
other drops, the copious shower revives the  
dying plants and gladdens the whole face of nature.  
If thus we are united, we shall make Kentucky  
the home of the free, as well as of the brave,  
and awaken in our sister states of the South,  
a spirit which will not tire, until crowned with  
the glory of universal emancipation.

3. A Model State.

We like to hear of States in this Union doing  
their whole duty in a spirit of enlarged wisdom,  
and to know that none but the very best conse-  
quences, socially and morally, flow from it.—  
We want such examples. Other States may be  
slow to follow in the path so brightly trod; but  
they will do it, in the end, as the only one  
which can lead to a sure progress and a permanent  
prosperity.

MASSACHUSETTS, a report of whose financial  
condition before us, is certainly the model  
of this Union. She is before all others in  
university of education, and the power of  
a disciplined, well-directed, and intelligent  
population. She is unequalled in modern days,  
considering her few natural resources, in the  
might of her physical strength and inventive-  
ness, the general comfort and independence  
of her people, and her self-made pecuniary  
ability.

4. That the Free State alone has exclusive jurisdiction  
over the whole subject within its territory.

Slavery is a domestic institution. Neither  
the National Government, nor any sister State,  
has the right, legally, to touch it. It is for  
Kentucky, and Kentucky alone, to say when  
and how her bond shall be set free, or whether  
they shall be set free at all.

5. That the Free State alone shall be addressed.

This position needs only to be stated, to be  
admitted everywhere. That being a demon,  
and fit for the blackest infamy, who would seek,  
in any manner, to arm man against master. No  
more fiend-like conduct can be imagined. It  
would receive the universal execration of earth;  
as it would be sure to meet the indignant judgment  
of heaven.

To our view, indeed, there is but one course  
mapped out for him, who labours earnestly and  
honestly to benefit and bless man. It is, always  
in love. Especially, should they pursue this  
course, who are endeavoring to effect social re-

form, to change old and time-worn habits and  
laws. They must understand prejudice and pay  
proper regard to them; know all perils, and  
ward them off; weigh each interest, and be just  
and violate no right in removing a wrong. It  
is often thought enough that the truth be spoken;  
but it is as important, almost, to speak it  
**rightly.** When uttered in harsh terms, clothed  
in the garb of bigotry, or enforced in an insolent  
or overbearing manner, in a spirit exclusive,  
one-sided or rabid, it will be resisted, often, as a  
lie. The advocates of truth must rise up to the  
level of its own dignity. They must be pure in  
heart, and crush all feelings of anger and hatred,  
ere they can be fit to defend, or enforce  
any great claim of humanity.

We shall write and argue in the Examiner, in  
this spirit, and temper, giving no just cause of  
offense to a single human being, yet free, alike,  
from that timidity, which would cringe before  
error, or that violence, which would battle with  
it in anger.

The necessity of such a paper as the Exam-  
iner seems clear enough to our friends. Because,  
apart from other weighty reasons,

1st. Of the extent of anti-slavery sentiment  
in Kentucky.

There never was a period when our people  
did not feel it. At the formation of the Con-  
stitution, the Convention came within a few  
votes of inserting in it a gradual emancipation  
clause, and in 1832 public opinion was almost  
ripe for such a step. This feeling is not, appre-  
hended, by any, who are engaged in the struggle  
for freedom, or in the cause of the slaves, as  
it is by those who are engaged in the cause of  
slavery. The negroes are better fed and clad, and are making  
imperceptibly, greater progress in various kinds  
of useful knowledge. All social progress attests  
the fact, that physical improvement must pre-  
cede spiritual attainment, and that the mind  
cannot be well improved until the body is well  
cared for. In this aspect we cannot easily ex-  
aggerate the importance of having the bodily  
condition of the slaves improved. But in addition  
to this change, there has been, and is, a  
growing disposition on the part of the religious  
portion of the South, to increase in every way  
the religious opportunities of the slaves. True,  
this disposition does not manifest itself always  
in the right way, or in the true form; but it exists,  
however, inasmuch as the slaves are better fed and clad, and are making  
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